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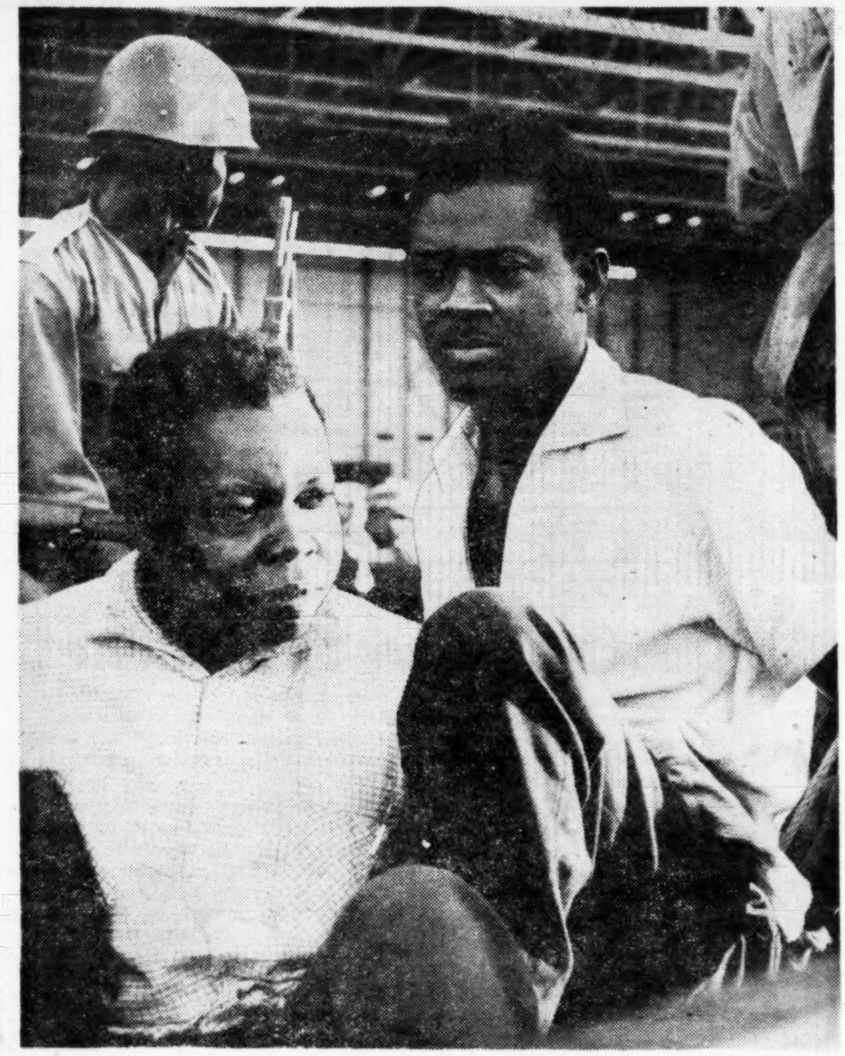


PATRICE LUMUMBA: HIS FREEDOM CRY LIVES AFTER HIM
His crime was his striving for a Congo free of Western control

SHOCKED WORLD WATCHES CONGO

West is implicated in Lumumba murder; UN prestige drops

By Kumar Goshal

BARELY AN HOUR before the UN Security Council met on Feb. 13 to consider urgent action on the Congo, the shocking news of the assassination of the Congo's legal Premier Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito flashed across the world.

When the Council met, speakers discarded their prepared speeches. UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold briefly reported he had been notified by secessionist Katanga's Interior Minister Godefroy Munongo that Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners had been killed by purportedly irate tribesmen on Feb. 12, four days after Katanga had announced their "escape from jail." Hammarskjold said: "I feel that an international investigation . . . is indicated."

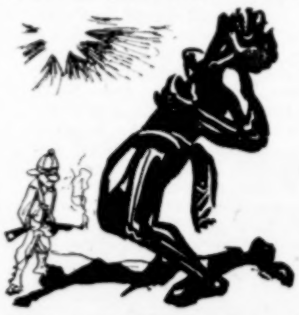
U.S. chief delegate Adlai Stevenson said it was "deplorable" Lumumba had died "without trial or judgment." He had nothing to say about Lumumba's illegal arrest. He urged "men of good will" to abjure revenge and seek reconciliation and appealed "to all governments to avoid any steps which might further aggravate . . . the situation." He endorsed Hammarskjold's proposal for an investigation.

NO CONFIDENCE: Soviet chief delegate Valerian Zorin said Lumumba was "a national hero to the Congolese people and to the whole of Africa." He called the murders "a grievous crime" committed by "the colonizers . . . under the blue flag of the UN." (At this point the listening Hammarskjold smirked.) He said the Soviet Union had no confidence in Hammarskjold or his staff conducting an impartial investigation. He insisted the situation required "a new appraisal."

The United Arab Republic's chief delegate Omar Loutfi said that "it is with indignation that we have heard" the news. He said he was not surprised because on Feb. 10 the delegations of Ceylon, Guinea, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Lybia, Mali, Morocco, the UAR and Yugoslavia had sent a letter to Hamamrskjold expressing "the fear that the news of the escape may be a camouflage and may have been inspired in preparation for announcing the death of Mr. Lumumba."

Loutfi said that "on behalf of the people of the UAR" he presented his "heartfelt and profound condolences to the Congolese people and to the families of these patriots." He proposed adjourning the meeting until Feb. 15 to give members an opportunity to consult their respective governments. The motion was approved.

SHOCK AND SHRUG: President Kennedy expressed "great shock" at the news. The New York **Times** reported (Feb. 14) that while the Administration's African specialists "were distressed" at the prospect of any new constructive approach being swept away in a new wave of violence, "another school of thought contended that, grim as was Mr. Lumumba's end, the Congo would be better off without him."



The socialist countries blamed "agents of Belgian colonizers" for the assassinations. London remained cautiously uncommunicative.

India's Premier Nehru said "murder has been committed—murder probably by people who occupy high places. This was almost expected, but still it has come as a great shock." He warned that if "strong and effective action" is not taken against the guilty persons, "it will become increasingly difficult for countries to associate themselves with an attitude

(Continued on Page 10)

GE, WESTINGHOUSE EXECS PLEAD GUILTY

Seven uncommon criminals jailed in antitrust swindle

By Robert E. Light

SEVEN CORPORATION executives—pillars of American society—sit in Montgomery County jail in Norristown, Pa., serving 30-day sentences for their part in a conspiracy which fixed prices, rigged bids, apportioned the market and attempted to squeeze out smaller companies in the manufacture of heavy gear electrical equipment.

On Feb. 6 and 7 they stood before Federal District Judge J. Cullen Ganey in Philadelphia with 37 other officials of 29 electrical companies, including General Electric, Westinghouse and Allis-Chalmers, and pleaded guilty to violation of antitrust laws. Judge Ganey gave suspended sentences and fines to 23 officials and fines for the rest. He fined the companies $1,787,000; of this GE was assessed $437,500 and Westinghouse $372,500.

Because of the statute of limitations, the indictments covered only actions from 1951 through 1960, although it is believed the practices started long before then. They were returned by four grand juries beginning in February, 1960, and each covered a separate group of products: power transformers, switchgear assemblies, turbine-generator units, industrial control equipment, power switching equipment and steam condensers. Sales during the indictment period are estimated at $8 billion. Most of this was to private utility companies and to Federal state and local agencies.

HONORABLE MEN: The companies pleaded guilty to some charges and "no contest" to others. Thus the documents on which the indictments were based were kept from public airing and aggrieved parties cannot sue for damages in the "no contest" pleas.

In court, the officials were pictured as

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INTEGRATIONISTS GET THREATS

New Rochelle school board appeals jimcrow ruling

By Joanne Grant

THERE ARE FEW Negroes in New Rochelle, N.Y., or in any northern community who have not heard the word "nigger" used as an epithet. But it is only lately that New Rochelle whites are beginning to hear "nigger lover." The controversy over a jimcrow elementary school has gone on for 11 years, but it is only recently and sporadically that the race issue has come to the surface in all its rawness and hate.

The tensions today in prosperous, suburban New Rochelle stem from resistance of some to determined efforts of a number of Negro families to gain admission of their children to nearly-all-white schools. Last year a referendum by a three-to-one vote authorized construction of a million-dollar school on the same site as the dilapidated Negro Lincoln school. Lincoln district residents voted against it as "gold-plated jimcrow." During the referendum whispering campaigns about Negroes moving to other parts of the city and lowering property values helped bring out the vote.

Segregationists have increased their activities since a recent Federal Court decision upholding the contention of Negro parents that Lincoln school had been created and maintained as a Negro school. Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman ordered the Board of Education to present an integration plan by April 14 and to integrate its schools next September.

BOARD TO APPEAL: The Board decided to appeal the decision after it held a public meeting attended by 600 persons at which 41 persons spoke on the integration order. Discussion was heated from time to time and the meeting ended with angry shouts when it was ad-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Monopolist

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN series on young Bobby Kennedy has been most thought-provoking. The first Public Enemy for this crusading Attorney General to prosecute is the Catholic Church. on charges of racketeering, monopoly and/or perjury.

This conspiracy threatens those who do not obey its dictates with something worse than death—eternal damnation. It swears to having a monopoly on all after-death decisions. In the absence of such monopoly, it is guilty of perjury.

F. L. H.

Farm supports

BENSON, MINN.

Jim Aronson gave a fine talk the other night in Minneapolis to a fair crowd in spite of 30-below weather.

Most farmers want the Kennedy Administration to carry out their farm platform adopted last summer instead of calling together a lot of weak-kneed farm leaders to come up with a weak-kneed farm program.

For example, Freeman is leaking stories to the press that the support price on corn will be raised from $1.06 to $1.20 a bushel and that a farmer will have to keep 16% of his corn acreage idle to qualify for the $1.20 price. With this much cut in acreage, the gross income on any particular farm will probably not improve at all with this 14-cent increase. (The $1.20 rate is based on Chicago delivery, I think. The actual rate to a farmer out here would be about $1.10 a bushel.)

Sen. Clinton Anderson, Truman's Secy. of Agriculture after Brannan, spoke at the Natl. Farm Bureau Convention in Denver and came out against the Democratic Farm platform adopted in Los Angeles last summer. Farmers need $1.50 corn, $3 beans, 90c oats and other grains, beef and hogs to correspond; the cost to be borne by the profiteers and not consumers.

Name withheld

Tax embargo

NEWARK, N.J.

Again, as in several previous years, I am refusing any cooperation with the Federal government regarding income tax collection. I, along with some other people, take this position as we do not believe in the use to which most of the money is put: to stir up hatred and fear against communism or some other ism in order to perpetuate an endless cold, or hot, war with an ever growing stockpile of completely insane and evil nuclear and biological weapons. If freedom and democracy are the treasures guarded by such means, then we shall certainly lose this freedom and democracy soon. Perhaps we already have.

Because God has given me, with almost everyone else on earth, a mind that can reason, I am joining the other people saying "No!" to the financing of insane evil with my tax money. We hope that others join us in this stand.

Janet McMillan

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The sonic boom is being heard more frequently these days as swifter jet fighter-interceptors take to the blue. One of the results is a perplexed public swamping local police switchboards with the query: "What was that explosion that just shook my house?"

The Air Force sonic boom is labeled "The New Sound of Freedom."

"When you hear the sonic boom, you know fellow-Americans are busy assuring your safety from a possible enemy surprise attack," claims the Air Force Office of Information Services. "By necessity, the sonic boom has become part of the American way of life."

From the Pontiac (Mich,) Press, Jan. 23

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B. H., Pontiac, Mich.

Why?

DAVOS-PLATZ, SWITZ.

Why is it that Dr. Willard Uphaus was jailed for obeying his conscience while at the Nuremberg Trials many Nazis were hanged or imprisoned for obeying orders instead of their own consciences? It was proclaimed by the judges at the trials that **"orders"** were no defense yet Dr. Uphaus was sent to jail because he did what the Nuremberg trial judges said was the right thing to do.

Sounds like a lot of damned hypocrisy to me.

Robert Little

Right to travel

TUCSON, ARIZONA

The recent ruling of the government forbidding travel to Cuba should be tested as soon as possible. Since the ruling says that exceptions are to be made in the case of newsmen and business men with business in Cuba, someone with neither of these affiliations should try to go to Cuba. If he is stopped, he should sue the State Dept. to get the order reversed.

Many Americans will want to go to Cuba this coming summer, and we should not wait to start trying to clear the way.

Mr. & Mrs. Alan M. MacEwan

No civil war in Cuba

BERKELEY, CALIF.

I recently heard a distinguished editor (not the GUARDIAN's) and friend of Cuba describe the country as in a state of civil war. This is untrue, and plays into the hands of those who would have us assist Castro's opponents.

I traveled Cuba from end to end by public bus during Christmas Week. I saw no gun emplacements, no sandbags, no barbed wire, no sentries at bridges or tunnels, no group patrols of armed men except militia on hikes. I never heard a shot, in flat country or in the mountains, by day or by night. The buses do not travel in convoy or carry armed guard. I saw no one being stopped, questioned or searched. I was not warned against any danger anywhere, by anyone, at any time. Upon my return to Havana on Jan. 2 from this 1,200-mile trip to Santiago and back, the capital city had sprouted artillery and pom-poms, all pointed upward and outward, none inward.

Here's a foreign policy toward Cuba: reopen the Embassy, permit tourist travel, lift the embargo, and restore the sugar quota.

William Mandel

Brother wanted

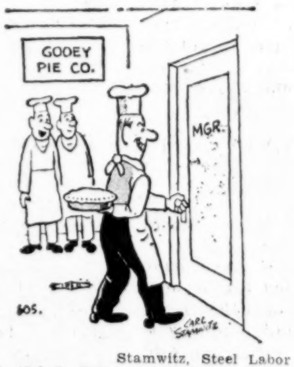
MATTAWAN, MICH.

While I was with the GUARDIAN Tour in Cuba last summer, Jean Fortier, Tom Schrader and I were "adopted" by two charming teen-age girls—the kind you dream about but seldom see. I hear from them (in Spanish) occasionally and now one of the two wants an American "brother" to correspond with. He must be a student also and, of course, must know some Spanish.

Could the GUARDIAN help find one or more pen-pals for this delightful young Cuban girl? What better way to foster international friendship and understanding between our two lands? Her name and address are: Srta. Daisy Mendez Roman, Villegas #108, Habana, Cuba.

Kindest regards to the GUARDIAN; what a happy, happy time you gave us all! I am eternally grateful to you and all of the fine people I met.

Eva C. Garden



Stamwitz, Steel Labor

"I think Ed's going to quit."

"Stop-drop"

POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y.

The commercial apple grower can artifically hold his apples on the tree (prevent dropping) for as much as two months after they have ripened by using a hormone spray around harvest time. This substance is a derivative of napthalene, a coal-tar product and sold under the innocent name of "stop-drop."

During the past year commercial growers were given another coal-tar derivative sold under the innocent sounding name of "stop-scald." This chemical permeates the apple skin and prevents deterioration known as "scald," a condition whose prevalence has become widespread since the "stop-drop" hormone spray has become widely used.

Don't you think we ought to let Mr. Ribicoff know how we feel about all this coal-tar that is being dished out to us? After all there is a suspicion of cancer in the constant use of coal-tar.

I buy my apples from Golden Acres Orchard, Bayard, Route 2, Front Royal, Va. They fertilize their grounds with organic material and do not use any spray of any kind.

Name withheld

Long pull

CHINO, CALIF.

We want you to stay in business for centuries if it takes that long to help people to understand some things that work against us.

Agnes E. Roche

Unabated need

WARREN, O.

We need the GUARDIAN just as much now as we needed it in 1950.

P. H. Wolf

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ANTI-TRUST CONVICTIONS against General Electric—the company faced 16 anti-trust suits 1917-1947—were laid aside in 1942 and again in 1950 in the interest of war production. GE is one of the top war profiteers. In World War II it got $3,300,000,000 in war orders, ranking ninth among the great corporations. Its profits jumped from $53,000,000 in 1939 to $150,000,000 in 1945; to $203,600,000 in 1949; and to $211,000,000 in only nine months of 1950.

Currently GE is earning 23% on investment, compared to 13½% in 1939 and 16% in 1945. Its profit take per worker was $740 in 1939, $965 in 1945. Today it is $1,691.

Before Korea, GE was already devoting 20% of its production to war orders. **Barrons** estimated its war orders this year may reach nearly a billion dollars—35% or even 45% of total production.

—From the National Guardian, Feb. 21, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Our own avalanche

WHILE NEW YORK has been digging out of the latest downfall of the snowiest and coldest winter since before the blizzard of 1888, the GUARDIAN has been digging out from under a friendlier avalanche of responses to our start-of-the-year letter to subscribers, asking for that annual boost.

As this issue goes to press, we have had responses from upwards of 3,500 subscribers. Of these, a good 500 have decided to join our "Buck of the Month" sustainers, the biggest increase in this quarter since our Buck-of-the-Monthers first organized eight years ago this month.

This is a most gratifying response. At first glance, it appears to be a 12% response from our 29,000 readers. But since many of our readers—who get the paper on newsstands (or who are already sustaining subscribers)—did not get our annual appeal letter, the percentage of those addressed who have thus far replied is in excess of 16%, which any expert in the field will testify to be beyond all normal expectation.

Yet the responses were still snowing down at press time at a rate which encourages us (as it does every year) to think that perhaps this will be the year when EVERYBODY responds.

SO THAT EVERYBODY may have the same opportunity to respond, here in part is what our letter said—after we had wished all a positive and happy New Year:

"For the GUARDIAN, it is our 13th New Year; for the nation it can be, hopefully, a turning point in our relations with our own people and the world . . .

"The new Hundred Days may determine the fate of the nation and the world: Nuclear catastrophe, or the fulfillment of humanity's eternal hope for peace, freedom and full opportunity for all.

"Knowing that there is only one course for sane people, the readers of the GUARDIAN will be at the core of the fight for sane decisions in the New Year. And you are not alone: thousands upon thousands seek the same goals. The GUARDIAN, for its part, seeks to service this fight—during the Hundred Days and beyond—with news, interpretation and information blotted out or distorted by a hostile press; and with the valuable interchange of opinion among our own readers and correspondents on how best to conduct the struggle."

Then we asked people to join the "Buck of the Month" Club by agreeing to pay for their subs on the installment plan, a dollar a month, but to continue the installment payments throughout the year if possible. We mark your sub paid and send reply envelopes every month for your installments. If you could send an extra contribution now, fine. And please, everybody, accept with your response a copy of C. Wright Mills' extraordinary new book on Cuba, **Listen Yankee** (because we think the facts about Cuba are about the scarcest commodity in our country today.)

IF THE FOREGOING persuades you to want to help make the response unanimous, don't forget to ask for your copy of **Listen Yankee.** We have our order in for the balance of our needs from a third printing of 80,000 (a publisher's note we add to indicate the thirst in the U.S. for the truth about that sassy little island 90 miles off our Florida coast.) And to our present "Buck of the Month" band, who didn't get our letter and may feel that they are our forgotten men and women—you are hereby included in this offer; just drop us a card with your name and address and we'll send the book.

ALTHOUGH MOST of our responses have been approving, one voiced the criticism that we have been "entirely too negative and destructive" on the Kennedy Administration thus far.

"Things may be bad," the letter said, "but they will certainly be better under Kennedy than under Nixon. There is hope for progress toward peace, civil rights and civil liberties if people are helped to move for these objectives."

DESTRUCTION is not our aim, nor negation. As we have in the past, we will continue to offer the ammunition and stimulus for people to move for peace, freedom and full opportunity for all, as our letter stated. But it is and will continue to be an uphill fight, and we believe people should be made aware of every obstacle in the path of progress. Men fight better without blindfolds.

—THE GUARDIAN

HIGHEST POST HELD BY A NEGRO

Weaver affirmed as housing chief over Dixie opposition

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER
He knew of Mr. J. Crow

AFTER A SHAM SHOW of resistance by Southern Democrats, the Senate approved Feb. 9 the nomination of Dr. Robert C. Weaver as chief of the Federal housing program. As administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Weaver will sit in the highest Federal post ever held by a Negro. If Congress approves President Kennedy's plan to create a Department of Urban Affairs, it is likely that Weaver will become a Cabinet member.

When Weaver was first mentioned for the post, disapproval was expressed by Southern Senators including A. Willis Robertson (D-Va.), chairman of the Banking and Finance Committee which had to pass on the nomination. They recalled President Kennedy's campaign promise to issue an "executive order to put an end to racial discrimination in Federally subsidized and supported housing." They said they feared that Weaver would try to push integration and they were concerned with his alleged past leftist leanings. They insisted that they were not opposed because Weaver is a Negro or because he is national board chairman of the NAACP.

FOR THE HOME FOLKS: At the Banking Committee hearings, Robertson staged a mock drama with comic relief from Sen. William A. Blakely (D- Tex.), but it was just a show for the folks back home. Much of the script was written in advance.

Rowland Evans Jr. reported in the New York **Herald Tribune** Feb. 9 that Vice President Johnson, Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.), assistant leader Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) and Sen. George Smathers (Fla.) met with Weaver in Mansfield's office Feb. 2 to plot strategy. Two days later White House Congressional liaison chief Lawrence F. O'Brien told Robertson that Weaver had a full loyalty clearance.

Administration strategy apparently called for allowing Southerners to get their opposition on record without dragging out the hearings. Robert G. Spivack said in the New York **Post** Jan. 24: "[Southern Democrats] are under obligation to the White House for remaining neutral during the anti-filibuster fight and they are not being allowed to forget their obligation." To insure short hearings, liberals on the committee let pass without the usual rebuttal the leading questions Southerners asked Weaver.

LETTER FROM JFK: Robertson opened the hearings Feb. 7 with a dramatic flourish. Before a chamber packed with reporters, photographers and spectators, he announced that he had written to President Kennedy Jan. 30 asking for assurances of Weaver's loyalty. Since he had gotten no written answer, Robertson said he was adjourning the hearings. He cleared the room and ordered the committee into executive session.

Almost two hours later Robertson emerged from the hearing room waving a letter from President Kennedy. It had come by special messenger. It said: "A report on Mr. Weaver was submitted to me by the FBI and this report was fully reviewed and evaluated . . I am most confident that if confirmed, Mr. Weaver will perform an outstanding service."

Robertson opened the hearings and allowed New York Republican Senators Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keating and Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.) to read statements in praise of Weaver. At the request of Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), Weaver was given ten minutes for his views on housing.

HAVE YOU EVER . . .: Sen. John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.) questioned Weaver on his views on "open occupancy"—nonsegregation in housing. Weaver said he believed that "every citizen should have equal access to all housing." But he added that Congress cannot legislate "the way people behave." To the question of whether he would order integrated housing, he answered: "I don't think I could if I wanted to and don't think I should if I could." He also said that he believed all housing "should eventually" be integrated but that he did not advocate coercion.

Blakely, Lyndon Johnson's replacement in the Senate, lightened the hearings considerably, if unintentionally, when he took up Weaver's alleged radical associations. Describing himself as a "freshman junior Senator," Blakely ask- Weaver if he had been a member of the housing panel at a meeting in Philadelphia in 1937 of the National Negro Congress, an organization which was later cited as "subversive" by the Attorney General. Weaver admitted that he had been at the meeting. He added: "I felt I was in good company" since President Roosevelt had sent greetings.

Blakely also brought out that Weaver had been a member of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop in 1941—"I buy a lot of books and they offered a 20% discount"—but he had resigned in protest against their radical policies. Weaver said he had been a "dupe" in endorsing the program of the Council on African Affairs.

FRIEND J. CROW: With the help of an aide who passed documents to him, Blakely went on to Weaver's sponsorship of a dinner honoring Ferdinand Smith, former secy.-treasurer of the Natl. Maritime Union who was deported—"If I knew then what I know now . . ." Blakely also reviewed Weaver's support of Loyalist Spain and his books on housing. At one point Blakely said: "I hope I'm not worrying you."

The room burst into laughter when Blakely asked Weaver if he knew that his book **The Negro Ghetto** had been reviewed favorably in **Masses and Mainstream** by "J. Crow, Realtor." Bewildered by the laughter, Blakely persisted: "Do you know J. Crow?" Weaver answered: "Yes, I've known of Jim Crow."

Weaver was approved by the committee by 11 to 4. The Senate approved his nomination Feb. 9 by a voice vote, after Southern Senators had put their opposition on record. There were only 25 Senators on the floor when the vote was taken.

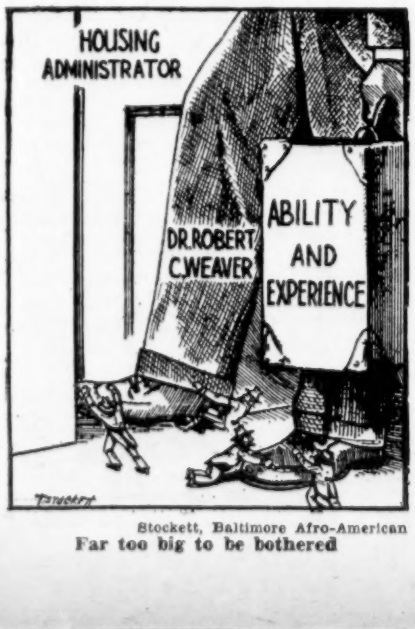
Weaver handled himself with great poise and assurance. Robertson said that he had been "a good witness . . . a clever man." Clark told Weaver: "You were terrific, I was proud of you." At the close of the hearing Blakely shook Weaver's hand and said: "You answered those questions so much better than I could."

BEST QUALIFIED: Weaver's appointment does not necessarily signal an end to segregated housing. The chairmen of the Senate and House housing subcommittees are both from Alabama—Sen. Sparkman and Rep. Albert Rains—and both are likely to withdraw their support of Federal housing if a non-segregation clause is included.

Weaver is perhaps the best qualified man ever to hold the post. He came to Washington during the New Deal as an aide to Interior Secy. Harold Ickes in 1933. Later he served as a special assistant in the Housing Authority, Works Progress Administration, National Defense Advisory Commission, War Production Board and War Manpower Commission.

In 1956 he was named New York State Rent Administrator by Gov. Averell Harriman. He has written two books, **The Negro Ghetto**, a housing study in 1948, and **Negro Labor**, an analysis of job discrimination in 1946. He taught economics and sociology at Northwestern U., Teachers College and New York U.

Before his appointment he was vice chairman of the New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board.



Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American
Far too big to be bothered

'AN EXTRAORDINARY ACT OF INHUMANITY'

Appeals to Kennedy urged for Winston's freedom

HENRY WINSTON
As he appeared in 1948

THE BRONX NEIGHBORS and friends of Henry Winston, blinded and lamed Smith Act victim, have appealed for a mass plea now to President Kennedy to free Winston and return him to his wife, children and friends for the care he will require for the rest of his life.

President Kennedy has not yet had a request for executive clemency for Winston placed before him. The requests directed to President Eisenhower were rejected by the government's Pardons Attorney, Reed Cozart. Winston's neighbors and family now hope that thousands of personal appeals may persuade President Kennedy to review the case himself rather than leave the decision to the Pardon Attorney.

Now in his mid-forties, Winston was one of the two Negroes among the original 11 defendants in the Foley Square trial of American Communist leaders in 1949. The other was Benjamin J. Davis Jr., former New York City Councilman. When the convictions of the 11 were confirmed in 1951, Winston was one of four who failed to surrender for imprisonment. After five years as a "fugitive from injustice" Winston gave himself up and started serving his original five-year sentence plus an unprecedented three years additional for "contempt of court" in failing to surrender at the time his conviction was confirmed.

TREATMENT DELAYED: In early 1959, during the third year of his imprisonment in the Federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Ind., he began to experience dizziness and visual blackouts. When he sought medical help he was first accused of malingering, then told he had "borderline hypertension." He was put on a diet and given seasickness pills. Ten months later, in January, 1960, he was finally hospitalized at the insistence of his family and his attorney, John J. Abt, and was found to have a brain tumor.

Again at the insistence of family and attorney, he was allowed to be flown to Montefiore Hospital in New York, blind and in a paralized state, for surgery. The operation was conducted with an armed guard at the door of the operating room. The tumor was found to be benign, but Winston's life was in the balance for considerable time. When his recovery became certain, it also became certain that, though he would regain the use of his legs, he would be blind for life.

All efforts to free him, including seven appeals for parole, were denied. For a time he was held as a prisoner-patient at a U.S. Public Health Service hospital on Staten Island, N.Y., and late last year he was transferred to the Federal prison at Danbury. His continued imprisonment, after having been given up for dead by prison authorities, was characterized by Norman Thomas in a letter to the New York **Times** as "an extraordinary act of inhumanity which has no explanation except a built-in refusal of Washington to give to Communists the humanitarian consideration extended to all prisoners, including gangsters."

ENDLESS PERSECUTION: In the two years since Winston has been eligible for parole by virtue of having served one-third of his 8-year sentence, all his applications have been rejected although thousands of paroles were granted to rapists, dope traffickers, white slavers, kidnapers, embezzlers, robbers, purveyors of obscene literature and income tax evaders.

The appeal of his Bronx neighbors to President Kennedy says that "people can find no justification for the never-ending persecution of these humane and gentle people"—referring to the prisoner himself, his wife, Edna, and their "two beautiful, gifted children . . . their beautiful dreamy eyes bespeaking their sorrow and premature suffering."

The neighbors' appeal concludes:

"Dear Mr. President, we of the community of neighbors of the Winston family are bringing the message of good-will and the truth of the Winston tragedy to all who wish to listen. But above all we appeal to you, Mr. President, to intervene in the Winston case, to grant him executive clemency and thereby win the good will of the good people of our country and of the whole world."

Mrs. Bella Altshuler of 2731 Barker Ave., Bronx 67, N.Y., a next-door neighbor of the Winstons, is secretary of the neighbors' Committee for the Freedom of Henry Winston.

OPPOSITION TO SALAZAR GROWS

Capt. Galvao's defiance stirs Portuguese exiles in London

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

PORTUGUESE EXILES here, overjoyed at the challenge to the Salazar dictatorship by Capt. Henrique Galvao, have formed an organization to work for their country's liberation. The group, known as the London Committee, has appealed to the British government to accord belligerent rights to Galvao and has protested to the UN against the intervention of the Spanish Navy in the internal affairs of Portugal.

Links have long existed between Portuguese abroad and the underground movement inside the country. An interview with a man here, whose name cannot be given because his family is still in Portugal, pictures the country as one where beneath the calm of a fascist state the movement of opposition is growing among all sections of the people.

The revolt is taking two forms. There is a movement which aims at destroying the whole fabric of the Salazar dictatorship, and another which aims at ousting Salazar but maintaining intact the basis of the present dictatorship while presenting to the world the appearance of a more liberal regime.

CHANGE IS DUE: Some months ago the business men and the industrialists who control the Portuguese economy and the rich exploitation of Portuguese colonies held a secret meeting outside Lisbon where they worked out plans for a new government.

Portugal's economy is controlled by some 11 families, and when they decide that the time has come, in my informant's words, "to give the regime a new face," it is obvious that they know the present dictatorship is near the end of its tether.

During the election in September, 1958, the navy was moved into the Atlantic and the air force was dispersed among other NATO countries—neither service is considered reliable. Salazar depends on the army which is completely infiltrated with his secret police, but even there no one below the rank of major is considered safe. Recently a number of retired professors signed a letter to the President criticizing the regime; it is believed some were jailed.

Some time ago the Bishop of Oporto wrote a letter to Salazar complaining of the poverty in the country. He was arrested but allowed to go to Valencia where he is now living in a convent. Significantly, the Vatican has refused to replace him, which is regarded as a hint that powerful church circles are in favor of a change of regime.

There is a movement of progressive Catholics. The story is told of a young merchant seaman, Manuel Serra, a practicing Catholic who worked with the underground and when threatened with arrest took refuge in the Cuban Embassy dressed as a priest. His clothing was obviously provided by a Catholic sympathizer. Later he was transferred to the Brazilian Embassy and succeeded in reaching Brazil; from there he went to Venezuela to join in the capture of the Portuguese cruise ship **Santa Maria.**

BROAD FRONT: The National Front of Liberation includes all opponents of the regime from Liberal Monarchists to Communists. Opposition takes various forms, but the most consistent activity is conducted by the illegal Communist Party. The Party's journal, **Avanti,** provides a rallying point among the desperately impoverished workers and peasants who are universally hostile to the regime.

Contradictions in Portugal explain the attitude of some of the NATO governments. For Britain, the United States and other NATO powers to intervene actively in support of Salazar would mean that if he is overthrown they can hardly hope to get a government which will maintain the Portuguese Alliance and the bases in the Azores. On the other hand, none of the candidates put forward by the right-wing opposition could hold the situation once the regime began to crumble.

UNSOUND ALLIANCE: Salazar is relying more and more openly on his fascist allies. There have even been open public references in Lisbon to the need of a new Axis made up of Portugal, Spain and South Africa "to defend the West." Salazar leans heavily on the Iberian military pact with Franco Spain and has said that Portugal's frontier is on the Pyrenees. The liberation of Portugal would mean that Franco's position would become untenable.

The dilemma which the Western powers have created for themselves by their open alliances with fascist dictators has now reached crisis point. As my informant said to me: "The United States ought to understand that every day it fails to come out against the fascist dictatorship in Portugal makes it more certain that when the Portuguese people regain their liberty, they will also repudiate the military pacts which their oppressors accepted."

GENERALISSIMO FRANCO (L.) EMBRACES PORTUGAL'S SALAZAR
The two dictators are more and more dependent on each other

New Rochelle story

(Continued from Page 1)

journed without hearing 39 others who wanted to speak.

Three points of view were repeated throughout the meeting, with a three-to-one ratio against appeal. Some wanted the decision appealed because it was an insult to the Board of Education and a stigma on the community. Others advocated appeal, but called for immediate integration. A third group opposed an appeal and called on the Board to implement the judge's decision immediately.

A segregationist, Dr. Dell' Aquilla, was shouted down by the audience and cut off by Board president Merryle S. Rukeyser who said the public meeting had been called "to better human relations in New Rochelle," not to cause dissension. Board member Nolan Fallahay called Dr. Dell'Aquilla's remarks out of order. Dr. Dell'Aquilla said that Negroes had moved to New Rochelle because "they never had it so good. I know because I used to work for the Dept. of Welfare."

Another extreme viewpoint was expressed by Clyde Seney, who termed the Kaufman decision "Federal interposition" and demanded protection of "our own self-government."

HELP OFFERED: Mrs. James M. Eagan read a statement for her husband, who is vice-president of the Natl. Conference of Christians and Jews, which called for an integration plan to be worked out at a two or three-day conference of organizations and offered the facilities of the Natl. Conference for the meeting.

Other organizations which offered their services to work out a solution were B'nai B'rith, the executive board of the PTA Council, the NAACP, the Catholic Interracial Council and the Committee for Integration.

Rev. M. D. Bullock, New Rochelle NAACP president, said: "There can be no further question at this stage as to what the vast majority of the Negroes of New Rochelle want . . . [They] want integrated classrooms for their children, and they want them now." He pointed out that in the North "it is relatively simple to change the mistakes and inequities of the past. We do not have to duplicate the tragic errors of Little Rock."

Rev. C. M. Long, former Board member, cited Gov. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia who, faced by a Federal Court desegregation order, asked the legislature to repeal a school closing law. "I hope we won't lag behind Georgia," he said.

TELEPHONED THREATS: Bernard Segal, a white graduate of Lincoln School, said he had been transferred out of Lincoln for a time, though Negroes had not. "Lincoln district is not just another neighborhood; it is a neighborhood where people live because they cannot get housing elsewhere," he said. "The Court did not say there should be integrated schools only where housing patterns permit it, but integrated schools, period." Another speaker, Irving Lipkowitz, said: "No court can solve our problem. We've got to solve our problem ourselves."

Several speakers referred to telephone and mail threats which integrationists have received over the past few weeks. One resident of an all-white neighborhood was told she had better attend a PTA meeting because "the administration wants niggers to go into our school." The caller said she had warned her own daughter to do well in junior high school or she would be put with the niggers. A letter to another white parent who favors integration threatened "you Jews and Negroes."

TENSIONS RAISED: One of the complicating factors in the Lincoln school fight has been repeated proopsals that low-income housing be built in high-cost residential areas to redistribute the Negro population and achieve integrated schools through integrated neighborhoods. The proposal, often offered as bait to trap allies for the fight to maintain the status quo, has increased tension in the community. Similarly, an integration plan presented by Board member Joseph W. Barker at the Board's Feb. 1 meeting was described by one resident as intended "to inflame parts of the city against others." The plan proposed an annual census of the school population on the basis of race and yearly redistribution of pupils according to a ratio of non-whites to the total school population; the Board would assume no responsibility for transportation. Barker indicated a personal lack of enthusiasm when he presented the plan "under protest" and said he was "not even sure it was legal" to take a census based on race. But the plan had the anticipated effect of frightening mothers with the prospect of having their children transferred to schools far from home each year.

Board member Stewart D. Beckley said at the meeting that the desegregation case had provided a lesson for the city as it showed the effect of low-cost housing. "It is unfortunate that Nigras qualify best for low-cost housing," he said.

FUTURE ACTIONS: Meanwhile, the Board has suspended work on the new Lincoln school until after the appeal is acted upon.

Paul B. Zuber, attorney for the parents, has brought a suit against school and city officials for $12,000,000 charging false arrest in a loitering case last fall which was dismissed by New Rochelle city court. The parents had been arrested when they attempted to register their children at a predominantly white school.

Future community action includes plans for delegations of organizational representatives to Albany to seek the intervention of Gov. Rockefeller and withholding of school tax payments until schools are integrated. Lincoln school parents boycotted the school in a one-day protest Feb. 10 .

AT McCRORY'S

Northern solidarity with the South

PICKETS demonstrate in front of McCrory's store on 34th Street in New York City on Feb. 7. Their act was a protest against chain-gang sentences for nine Negro youths who staged a sit-in at a Southern store of the company. The New York demonstration was organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

THE PLIGHT OF THE ANTHRACITE VALLEYS IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM

Community self-help projects fail to solve job crisis in coal

By John Fellows
Special to the Guardian

SHENANDOAH, PA.

THE COLLAPSING anthracite coal markets snatched the economic rug from under the feet of this once-prosperous mine community and others like it throughout the hard-coal valleys of northeast Pennsylvania. It has left a dazed citizenry to wonder whether there would still be any future to look forward to.

The rapid decline of the coal industry and sudden widespread unemployment came as a rude shock to an area nurtured in the belief that the coal industry would endure forever. For the legend had it that there would always be a demand for coal, hence there always would be jobs for skilled miners, and an endless succession of paydays. There seemed no logical reason for coal-dependent communities to seek to diversify local industry. That was something simply not on the agenda. Indeed, the very thought might be subversive.

Nowadays the battle-cry for more and more diversified industry echoes in patch and town. Organizations have been set up, funds raised and promotion campaigns launched to draw outside industry to the area. Jobs are desperately needed. The prospect of finding work at one of the still-operating mines is nil. Only death separates a man from his job at present.

SENIOR BOOSTER: A senior anthracite organization to boost the advantages offered by the community to the outside industrialist seeking to relocate his plant is the Shenandoah Chamber of Progress located in the Miners' Trust Bank building on North Main Street.

Organized in 1946 by local business and professional groups and drawing powerful support from the United Mine Workers and other local bodies, it raised $375,000 the following year for an industrial redevelopment program.

The Chamber earmarked funds to build a factory shell on a plot of ground north of town which subsequently became the site of the first industry to move in from the "outside." This was the PurOlator Co., manufacturers of water filtering equipment. It provided work for 175 men with an annual payroll of $600,000.

Four more shells, each designed to provide 50,000 square feet of enclosed space, were built in the new Greater Shenandoah Industrial Park area near the retired farmers' community of Ringtown.

SCANTY RETURNS: The 15 years since the Chamber was founded have been marked by skimpy results. Some 250 jobs have been created at an expenditure of $500,000. More than 20 shells dot the surrounding valleys in hopeful anticipation of industrial tenants from the "outside."

The Chamber has campaigned for an Anthracite Expressway to ease the transport crisis in the area. One of its most successful efforts was to block politicians in Harrisburg from dumping responsibility for state-supported hospitals upon the already strained resources of the surrounding communities.

There are 50-some similar non-profit development organizations active in the state. The Chamber of Commerce in its Site Selection Handbook lists another 450 private redevelopment organizations. Promoting industrial relocation programs has become a big business.

The industrialist shopping for a new industrial site in the state finds the supply far in excess of the demand. There is an air of sharp competition among communities to attract his eye and eventually his purse. Towns prink themselves coquettishly to sustain interest by engaging in street cleaning programs, home rehabilitation campaigns and a clamor for vocational schools.

OLD-TIME COAL MINERS ARE AN UNMIGRANT LOT
'They cling to home territory waiting for jobs to come to them'

MINERS STAY PUT: The Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority has made funds available to assist communities in setting up their redevelopment programs. From July, 1956, to June, 1960, this agency approved $16,078,303 in loans for the construction of 127 industrial projects at a cost of $51,062,464. When completed, these projects are expected to provide 24,413 additional jobs and to bring in an annual payroll of $85,233,566. Of these projects 49 are in the hard-coal area, mostly in the Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton-Scranton triangle.

Coal miners are a singularly unmigrant folk stubbornly rooted to mine patch and the miners' ways. While their offspring venture forth to far cities seeking jobs, these older men cling to home territory waiting for jobs to come to them.

It's the return of jobs to the area that alone will assure the continued future of their communities, the old timers aver. They are willing to wait, feeling that to abandon their old patch or town in its season of distress would be tantamount to treason. Their presence is deemed essential to keeping the familiar haunts alive and hopeful.

JOBLESSNESS UP: Meanwhile regional unemployment keeps increasing. In January 18.3% of the working force of the Schuylkill-Carbon district—13,900 persons— were reported out of work. During the last two months of 1960 some 1,100 lost their jobs in the vicinity. Less than 10% of all the unemployed in the region are females.

Pottsville, Schuylkill County's county seat, reports unemployment at 19.2% of the working force as against 12% in the Wilkes-Barre-Hazelton area and 6.2% for the country at large.

The prospect that the region will attract outside industry in sufficient strength to absorb these growing numbers of unemployed is admittedly remote. UMWA President Thomas A. Kennedy warned in a recent report that blighted areas failed to attract new industry. He stressed the crucial importance of extending Federal aid to existing community rehabilitation programs.

FLIGHT OF CAPITAL: While local newspapers such as the Shenandoah **Evening Herald**, the Pottsville **Republican** and the Mahanoy City **Record** carry occasional glad tidings of the opening of a new ladies' blouse factory in Pine Grove or the salvaging of a business-depressed tannery in Selingsgrove, the big investment money from the area is in full flight.

The efforts of Albert A. Lister, president of the Glen Alden Coal Co. of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, largest anthracite producer in the U.S., to wrest control of the Endicott Johnson shoe manufacturing corporation in Binghampton, N.Y., was fully detailed on the financial pages of the press recently. Mr. Lister owns large interests in the Ward la France Truck Co. of Elmira, N.Y., makers of fire fighting equipment, and in many other enterprises.

The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co., whose hard-coal operations dominated the southern anthracite field for generations, is now seeking other investments for its capital. Currently it has been negotiating for a controlling share in the Fruit of the Loom finishers and converters of cotton fabrics of Providence, R.I.

IKE'S HOMILY: Vetoing a Federal distressed-areas bill last year, former President Eisenhower stressed the importance of local initiative and self-reliance.

His homily had little effect on the powerful individuals who command the big anthracite money and who, in the region's time of acute distress, look elsewhere to find profitable investment opportunities for their capital.

It is the "plain people" of the region who are left with the burden of creating effective programs of community self-help.

Is it any wonder that Ike is remembered as one who has failed to mark the difference between a distressed coal field and a field around a lush country club golf course?

Meanwhile efforts proceed on many fronts to push back the tide of stagnation. Extensive research into the chemical properties of coal is expected to uncover new uses for anthracite.

Mine drainage programs launched with Federal assistance cut down the costly overhead of dewatering underground workings and enable anthracite to maintain a competitive position in the fuel market.

NATION-WIDE PROBLEM: Urban renewal, plans to refill the canyon-like gorges left by abandoned mines, and elaborate reforestration schemes are under way. All these multifarious efforts are designed to create jobs for the disemployed men of the region.

The United Mine Workers have voiced a demand for permanent jobless benefits pegged at 75% of the weekly wage. Such a measure would go far to preserve the economic and social integrity of the hard-coal communities where thousands are currently dependent on relief and on Federal surplus foods.

The overriding need is for jobs. Work is as essential to an ex-miner's well-being as are air and food. His great torment is enforced idleness.

Grimly the older folk hang on to their patches and towns. They feel they have about exhausted their allotment of initiative and self-reliance in tackling problems that are nation-wide in scope.

HAZEL WOLF DEPORTATION REVERSED

Foreign born group sees signs of progress in legislative actions

A PROGRESS REPORT of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born comments that "Congress, state legislatures and the courts are beginning to give hope to the foreign-born that the 'new frontier' may be for them, too, as promised in the platform on which President Kennedy was elected."

The report notes these recent developments:

- The Washington State Legislature is formally asking Congress to enact a statute of limitations for Walter-McCarran Act denaturalizations and deportations. Congress is urged to ban deportations of children under 14 years of age, and of foreign-born who have lived here continuously for 25 or more years, and to bar denaturalizations after ten years' residence.
- Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) has introduced two bills to have deportees Hamish Scott MacKay and William Mackie returned to their American homes.
- The Oregon Senate is backing Morse's MacKay-Mackie bills, and calls their deportations "harsh" and "shocking."
- A proposed resolution now before the New York State Assembly advocates a five-year statute of limitations to curb the "power to punish foreign-born through the loss of citizenship and banishment . . . even after many decades of residence as law abiding citizens."
- The Federal Appeals Court in San Francisco has reversed the deportation order against Canada-born Hazel Anna Wolf.

SEN. WAYNE MORSE
Would bring deportees back

The report set as goals the elimination of supervisory parole, restoration of social security benefits denied deportees and their wives and children, and return of all deportees to their homes. It cites this plank from the Democratic Party platform:

"We must remove the distinctions between native born and naturalized citizens to insure full protection of our laws to all. There is no place in the United States for second class citizenship. The protections provided by due process, right of appeal and statutes of limitation can be extended to noncitizens without hampering the security of our nation."

PEOPLE, NOT NATURE, BLAMED

Big shake-up ordered to halt Soviet farm lag

OPENING OF VIRGIN LANDS SUCH AS THIS GIANT STATE FARM IN SIBERIA REQUIRES ADJUSTMENTS IN SOVIET AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

WHILE SOVIET INDUSTRY bounds ahead at a rapid rate with production indexes curving upwards in an unbroken line, agriculture continues to have its serious ups and downs. But Premier Khrushchev insists that most of the problems are human rather than natural. In an unprecedentedly publicized Plenum of the Communist Party he berated those responsible and has launched another of those drastic reorganizations intended to settle once and for all the ills that continue to plague Soviet agriculture.

This fully-reported meeting of the Central Committee resembled a sort of general court-of-inquiry with Khrushchev in the role of chief prosecutor. His own massive report revealed an intimate, expert and detailed knowledge of just what was going on in agriculture, with facts and figures that made a good number of party functionaries squirm with embarrassment.

The main question is still the grain harvest, not only just wheat and rye for bread, but maize and barley and other fodder crops for meat and dairy products. As the wheat moves east into the virgin lands, the traditional Ukrainian bread basket becomes a meat market. But until the Plenum, it was clear that neither bread basket nor meat market would meet their 1965 targets—aimed at outstripping the U.S. In fact, the 1960 figures showed that agriculture was slipping back again into the stagnation from which it had not moved for a generation until Khrushchev launched the virgin lands scheme and a number of drastic reforms which gave it a big spurt forward.

MAIN CULPRITS: The 1960 figures—10,000,000 tons below the bumper year of 1958—were the more disappointing because an extra 17,000,000 acres were brought under cultivation that year. Khrushchev would not accept the explanation that the weather—which played havoc with crops in Western Europe last year—was the main reason. Bureaucracy, bungling, conservatism, cheating, ineffiency—these were the main culprits.

"The low indexes of grain production in the Ukraine stem not so much from unfavorable climatic conditions as from the leaders' poor work with personnel," said Khrushchev.

The problem of machinery is still acute in the virgin lands areas which embrace 100,000,000 acres of newly populated—and still very sparsely populated—plowlands. The problem there—as I found when I visited virgin lands in Siberia and Kazakhstan last summer—is to throw vast masses of machinery into maximum action for short periods.

PRECISE LIMITS: In most areas sowing must be completed between May 15 and 25 so that the 90-day wheat will be ready for harvesting between Aug. 5 and 25. These are very precise limits set by nature. Before May 15 the ground is frozen solid. After Aug. 25 the snow can bury it. Machinery must be in tip-top order for a 24-hour-per-day battle during those periods. Shortage of local tractor and combine drivers is met by airlifting them in from other republics for the sowing and harvesting season.

Last year 40,000 combine operators were flown in after completing harvesting in the southern regions. But had they been on the spot all the time, they would have prepared the machines for the battle. As it was, they often took over machines which had either no maintenance at all or unskilled maintenance. Every hour lost in breakdowns of any combine meant tens of tons of grain lost. Due to bad weather also 7 500,000 acres was sown after the fatal May 25 deadline and much of it was lost. The Plenum decided that in future tractor and combine operators have to be trained on the spot, with reliance on outside aid reduced and eventually done away with completely.

HERDS LOST: In animal husbandry things also went wrong in 1960. Due to early snows and lack of shelter and fodder stations in regions where the snows blocked sheep from moving down to winter pastures, more than 9,300,000 sheep perished—a heavy setback in the plans to boost meat production. The main sheep-raising republics lost between 8% and 11% of their total stock. Increase in cattle, including milch cows, is going ahead far too slowly to meet planned targets and Khrushchev had some sharp things to say about this—also about scientists buried in abstract theorizing instead of practical work in increasing the herds.

Khrushchev paid great tribute to Trofim Lysenko for his theories and practice in cross-breeding to improve the butter-fat quality of milk. But this correspondent cannot see any difference in what Lysenko is doing and what ordinary dairy farmers in Australia have been doing ever since I was a boy there. They simply cross a good beef strain with quality dairy cattle to provide male calves which will grow into good beef and female calves which will grow into rich milk producers. The 5.1 butter-fat content achieved by Lysenko with his herd and praised by Khrushchev would be considered a very mediocre performance in the dairying district of South Gippsland, Victoria, where I was born. And it was all done with practical selective breeding without benefit of Lysenko's theories, which are only too often presented here as some unique and original contribution to cattle-breeding.

NO DEEP CRISIS: The reports of the Plenum could suggest that Soviet agriculture is plunged into a deep crisis. But this is not so. There are difficulties because of the drastic measures taken to pull it out of the crisis it was in in 1953. There are difficulties in consolidating the virgin lands which in such a few years have become the major grain producing area of the Soviet Union, providing 62% of all the grain in 1960.

There are difficulties in adjusting the former grain areas to their major role now in producin milk and meat. The sharp talk at the Plenum exaggerated some of the difficulties to provoke their radical solution. Agriculture was lifted up to a new level after the 1953 decisions on plowing up the virgin lands. This Plenum was aimed at hiking it up again to another new level.

Khrushchev said that steel production is going so well that 100-102 million tons would be produced in 1965 instead of the 86-91 million tons planned. This could be cut back a bit in favor of agriculture and light industry—a conception that would have been branded as heresy a few years ago.

"You can't build communism by offering only machines and ferrous and nonferrous metals," said Khrushchev. "People have to be provided with good food, clothing, housing and other material and cultural benefits. We have a powerful industry, our armed forces have the latest weapons. Why should we deny a man what he can get without detriment to the further development of our socialist state?" This is typical of Khrushchev's down-to-earth, practical attitude to most questions.

NEW TARGETS: Agriculture in future will be run more on the spot with the Central Ministry providing scientific advice and setting up branch offices to act as liaison between the farms and industry, ensuring that everything from machinery to seed and fertilizers are available. New big targets are set for grain, meat and milk production and Khrushchev went to some pains to demonstrate that it was entirely feasible to increase meat production by 1,465,000 tons every year and milk production by 8-9,000,000 tons annually. The cow herd is to increase to 50,000,000 by 1965. Irrigation networks are to be vastly expanded and the production of mineral fertilizers also.

Khrushchev demanded—and the Plenum accepted—the sort of program which would make Soviet agriculture largely independent of the whims of nature. He wants it to show the same sort of steady curve upwards that industry can show instead of zig-zag indexes of its recent ups and downs. In pushing all this through, he has also laid great stress on the material incentives, the necessity for good homes and food and clothes for the people who are to grow the grain and meat—with first priority for the pioneers of the virgin lands.

The fairly immediate future will show how this is all going to work out and obviously quite a few Party and government bureaucrats have to be kicked out of office to set things off to a good start.

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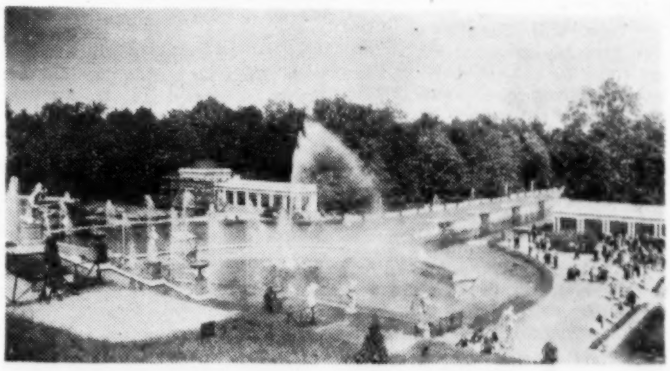

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THIS IS THE 'YEAR OF EDUCATION'

Cuba mobilizes to erase all illiteracy in 1961

VOLUNTEER TEACHERS LEAVE HAVANA FOR REMOTE POSTS IN THE WAR AGAINST ILLITERACY
The slogan is: 'If you can't read and write, learn; if you can, teach others.'

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

CONRADO BENITEZ, a former shoeshine boy who was 18 when he died, is honored today throughout this island. He studied in night school, joined the Revolution's anti-illiteracy army, and taught children and adults in a remote log-cabin school in the Las Villas mountains. The other day his body was found hanging from a tree. His murderers had signed their names to a document, finding him guilty of being a "communist teacher" in possession of schoolbooks and "communist" (Cuban government) documents.

At a graduation ceremony for 1,100 young teachers going to similar posts—without arms, as is the rule for teachers—Fidel Castro listed the real crimes of Conrado Benitez in counterrevolutionary eyes: "He was poor, he was black, he was a teacher. That is imperialism with its hatred of the lowly, of the Negro, of books, of human worth and virtue . . . All that was missing was for them to say they murdered him in the name of God."

More than 20 of the murderers' gang have been caught. They have once again shown a genius for counterrevolutionary "policies" which have exactly the reverse effect of the one intended. No more instructive text, more calculated to redouble his listeners' zeal, could have been handed to Castro.

SPECIAL PROJECTS: The "Year of Education" has been launched with that nation-wide exuberance and participation which—how often must it be said about Cuba?—cannot be believed unless you come and see it.

Here are a few of the special projects already under way: A Natl. Academy of the Arts open to all children showing talent, to occupy Havana's two ritziest golf courses and surrounding millionaire homes whose occupants have scrammed . . . 1,000 youngsters, one from each co-op and state farm, learning to go back to these enterprises as accountants; another 1,000 becoming skilled needlewomen, to go back and teach it . . . 1,000 more taking courses in cattle breeding, another 1,000 in physical education . . . 1,000 domestic workers learning to run infant centers.

The heart of the "Year of Education" is that by its end Cuba will be "one of the first countries in the world without any illiteracy." The slogan is from Martí: "Be educated in order to be free." With skill and taste unexcelled anywhere, Cuba's graphic artists have covered the land with anti-illiteracy posters and exhibits, some illuminated at night in the cities. The message to all is: If you can't read and write, learn; if you can, teach others.

MASSIVE DRIVE: The campaign began on Sunday, Jan. 15, when thousands of volunteers covered every house in an illiteracy census. (Cuba inherited around 2,000,000 illiterates—31% of the population—from Batista.) In one place, Aguacate, the census listed 700 illiterates and 300 volunteers to teach them.

For the adult literacy campaign, the main weapon is an illustrated primer of which a million copies have been printed. The exercises consist of simple words in daily use by peasants and workers. With the primer goes a teacher's handbook, stressing mutual teacher-pupil respect, avoidance of "authoritarian tone" in a task which calls for working together, and such problems to bear in mind as pupils' sight and hearing defects and economic worries. The handbook contains simple statements for discussion and work on such themes as:

- "Cuba had wealth and was poor."
- "The Revolution converts barracks into schools."
- "There is no race hatred because there are no races."
- "Cubans want friendship with all peoples including the North American."
- "Our Revolution respects all religious beliefs."

THE LEGACY: What about children in the new Cuba? In the last seven years before the Revolution, only 11% of the schoolrooms needed to keep up with population growth had been built. Over the 50 years of the "republic," the education budget had risen 22 times, the illiteracy level had remained the same. Funds were poured out on "inspectors," of whom Cuba had three times as many as France (with less than 1/7 of its population). It cost $370 a year to "inspect" each physical education teacher. Teachers' work-hours had been reduced by half but the cost per hour per pupil had risen 17 times. With the emphasis then so strongly on "liberal" as opposed to craft and technical professions, there were 10,000 unemployed teachers. Many got classrooms by influence or bribery, so that, as Castro puts it, "they often had to prostitute themselves before they began to work."

The new Cuba estimates its school population (ages 6 to 19) at nearly 2,500,000. The first stage is free compulsory education up to age 12; in the second it will extend through basic secondary. The initial building target of 5,000 new classrooms was doubled through teachers forgoing part of their salaries; some 12,000 are already built, but this is still not enough. All but 1,000 of the new classrooms have been or are being built in rural areas where the need is greatest. The new educational principles of the Revolution stress:

- "Preparing each citizen to think for himself" as the only guarantee of freedom—pointing to the use by self-styled democracies of "myths, lies and induced inertia" as well as force to condition citizens.
- The whole system to be intimately integrated from pre-school to university level, on the basis of developing individual aptitudes, personality and "spirit of investigation" while forming a group national - democratic - Latin American - international consciousness.
- "Recognizing the principle of free parent choice of schools," the government will "recognize and stimulate the creative work" of private schools—but all teachers must be properly qualified and primary-teacher training is reserved to the state.

DAY OF TRIUMPH: Of Castro's many remarkable speeches, perhaps his greatest have been those made to children at the inauguration of "school cities" in army strongholds of the Batista torture-regime. Latest of these was on Marti's birthday, Jan. 28, in the city of Santa Clara. On the same day last year—opening the school at the former Moncada barracks (Santiago), the attack on which in 1953 gave the "26th of July movement" its name—Castro said:

"We didn't take the fortress on July 26. We didnt' take it on Jan. 1 [the revolutionary triumph in 1959]. Do you know when we took it? We took the fortress today, because today we have made it into a center of learning—today we have won this battle."

As I saw it on a visit last month, the once-dreaded Moncada is a vast complex of classrooms and playing fields teeming with happy children. Groups of kids carried off each visitor to show him around, and an inquisitorial bevy surrounded me demanding to know what I thought of their revolution, what family I had, did my people have revolutions and if not why not? Returning to the great yard, all the children broke into a rousing song:

The Norteamericanos
Say Fidel is **comunista**—
They don't say that Batista
Killed thousands of Cubanos.
If Fidel is **comunista**
Then put me on the **lista**
For I'm a Fidelista—
CUBA SI! YANQUIS NO!

NEW SCHOOL CITY: Then at the foot of the Sierra Maestra, nothing left a deeper impression than the multitude of soldiers assigned to build the enormous new school city there. This will be a boarding school for 20,000 kids, mostly from the most backward rural families, symbolizing Batista's 20,000 victims. From classroom and dormitory design and construction, to the system of democratic student participation in maintenance and discipline—all is of the most modern, with no expense or forethought spared.

No Cuban child goes to a boarding school or institution unless its family so desires, and parents are always told that where there is a decent home, the government considers it the best place for children to grow up.

At the gate of a government school for orphans, I saw a woman with four children whom she wanted to leave there. "My husband is dead," she said. "I can't support the kids and I hear they get such good care here." From the kind but firm questioning to which she was submitted, she clearly had a difficult job to get what she wanted. It was more likely that, if her poverty was as she described it, the government would give her the necessary help to keep her kids at home.

What's happening to our coal miners?

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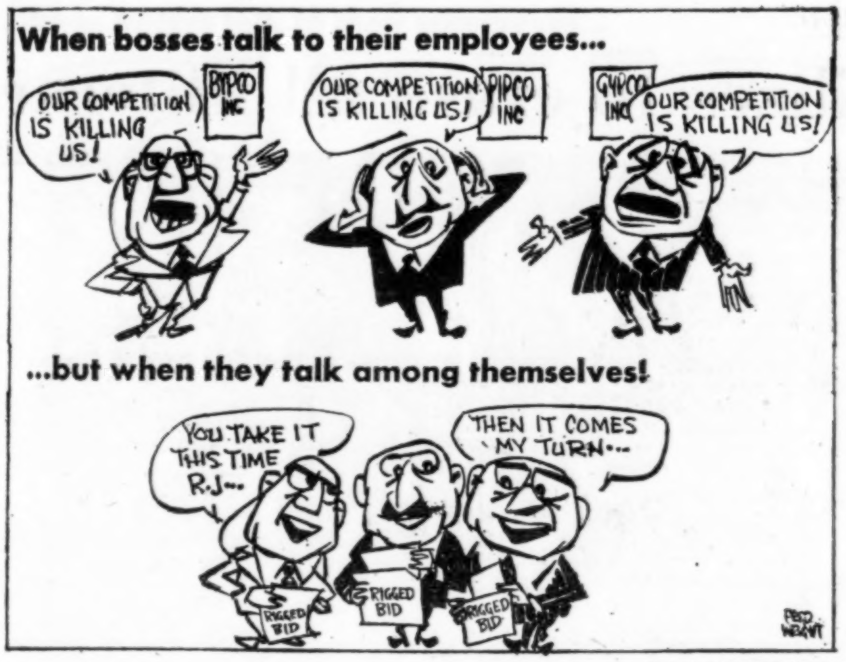
Top execs jailed

(Continued from Page 1)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...but when they talk among themselves!
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THEN IT COMES MY TURN--
RIGGED BID
RIGGED BID
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FRED WRIGHT

Drawing by Fred Wright

"honorable men" by their lawyers. Several were church deacons, one was president of a local Chamber of Commerce, another was a hospital board member, one was chief fund-raiser for the Community Chest, one was a bank director, another was a director of a taxpayers' association and another was organizer of a local Little League.

Those sentenced to jail were J. H. Chiles Jr., Westinghouse vice president and division manager; W. S. Ginn, GE vice president and division manager; Lewis J. Burger, GE division manager; George E. Burens, GE vice president and division manager; C. I. Mauntel, Westinghouse division sales manager; E. R. Jung, vice president, Clark Controller Co.; and J. M. Cook, vice president, Cutler-Hammer, Inc.

BALMED CONSCIENCES: Their lawyers said they were just good organization men trying to keep their jobs. Their misdeeds were part of the "corporate way of life." When such a defense was put up for M. A. DeFarranti, former general manager of the GE transformer department. Judge Ganey said: "Here again is the classical company man . . . He knew he was doing wrong [but] he balmed his conscience with a salary of $60,000 a year."

Although corporation officers insisted that they did not know what their underlings were doing, Judge Ganey said that the "real blame is to be laid at the doorstep of the corporate defendants and those who guide and direct their policy." He added that it "would be most naive indeed" to believe that higher-ups did not know of the conspiracies. He said the top executives "bear grave responsibility for the present situation."

The indictments described how the conspiracy worked. Company executives would meet periodically in hotel rooms across the country; once they met in a Milwaukee saloon known as "Dirty Helen's." They would review prospective orders, decide who was to get them and how much to charge. On sealed-bid government orders, a "phase of the moon" scheme was devised. Companies would rotate "low," "medium" and "high" position.

La Gauche, Brussels

THE DIVVY: For each type of equipment the companies were apportioned a slice of the business. For circuit breakers, it was decided that GE would get 45%; Westinghouse, 35%; Allis-Chalmers 10%, and Federal Pacific 10%. For power switchgears, the division was: GE 39%, Westinghouse 35%, I-T-E 11%, Allis-Chamlers 8% and Federal Pacific 7%. The executives kept "ledger" lists—a box score showing how much business each firm was getting.

To keep the conspiracy secret, security measures were established. Notepapers were destroyed before the executives left the hotels. Code numbers were assigned to each company. Letters were sent to the conspirators' homes without a return address or signature.

In one meeting on instrument transformers, the officials decided that a 10% price increase would go into effect in June or July, 1957, an additional 3.9% in September or October, 1958, and further increases in 1959.

Personnel at the meeting varied with the size of the orders discussed. Junior grade executives handled junior grade business and more important matters were handled by higher ranking officials. The indictments never placed top corporation officers at the meetings.

WHO, US? When the plots were revealed, top corporation officials said they were shocked by their subordinates' wrongdoings. GE officers pointed to a policy statement in 1946 which forbade employes from violating anti-trust laws. They demoted 48 executives as punishment.

After the convictions GE issued a statement reaffirming its support of antitrust laws. Of the conspiracy, it said: "The acts were ones of nonconformity."

In answer to a Washington **Post** editorial which said that a "broad segment of the American public has been bilked of many millions of dollars," GE vice president J. S. Parker wrote: "The foresight of the electric utilities, and the design and manufacturing skills of companies like General Electric have kept electricity today's greatest bargain. We seriously doubt that the facts will indicate that anyone has been 'bilked,' since the price of electricity has gone up only 2% since 1939 . . . We believe the facts will demonstrate that the purchasers of electric apparatus have received very fair value."

Just in case customers were overcharged because of the rigged bids and price fixing, GE, Allis-Chalmers and Westinghouse agreed to "review the situation in detail." GE called back Charles E. Wilson from retirement to deal with irate customers.

THE LOSERS: For some of the aggrieved the review came too late. The AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, after a disastrous strike, signed a contract with GE offering minimal benefits. Other unions agreed to similar terms. As a result, Westinghouse also gave little in its contracts.

When the indictments were returned on Feb. 16, 1960, IUE president James B. Carey said: "GE's hypocrisy is nowhere better manifested than in its announcement that it will resist any wage increase in 1960 because it might be inflationary, while at the same time profiteering extravagantly and outrageously at the expense of the government and the American taxpayer."

The independent United Electrical Workers' paper **UE News** pointed out that while GE and Westinghouse officials were scheming to eliminate competitors, the companies urged at the bargaining table that "competition" made it necessary to forgo wage increases.

UE local leaders F. Clifford Robinson and Francis J. Bradley of the Westinghouse Steam Division in Lester, Pa., called the sentences "absurdly light." Of the sentencing of Westinghouse plant manager W. C. Rowland, they added: "A vagrant can get 30 days for being homeless, and a union man in North Carolina can get 30 years for going on strike, while the head of the largest turbine plant in the U.S. receives 30 days, suspended, for playing a leading role in one of the costliest swindles ever perpetrated on the American people."

UE News asked: "Who are the victims?" In answer, it listed Federal and local taxpayers who ultimately pay for the overcharges to government agencies. Private utilities, it pointed out, are able to pass on higher costs to consumers because they are monopolies.

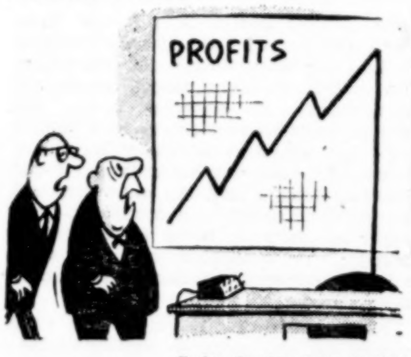
UE also found victims in its ranks. It pointed out that when a contract for a steam turbine went to an English company because GE and Westinghouse had overbid, 400,000 man-hours of work were lost by American workers.

CUSTOMERS SUE: After the sentencing, irate customers lined up to sue the companies. By law Federal agencies can get only single damages, but others can collect triple damages. New York City Mayor Robert Wagner said: "The city will not stand idly by and be mulcted." He said he would sue. Chicago officials planned a suit of $5,000,000. The Natl. Institute of Municipal Law Officers said it was planning a consolidated suit in behalf of several cities.

On Feb. 9, Atty. Gen Robert F. Kennedy said that the Justice Dept. was preparing damage suits. He said the first complaint would be filed within two months. The same day in Peoria, Ill., J. Orion Brunk, a publisher, and Mrs. Mary Brown, a housewife, filed a $750,000,000 suit against GE, alleging injury to 50,000,000 customers. Brunk and Mrs. Brown said they had purchased GE products.

The story of the indictments and sentencing got scant press notice, although it was the first time top company officials were jailed under antitrust laws. Although the meetings of company executives resembled the gathering of alleged underworld executives in Appalachin, N.Y., the stories were handled quite differently.

The February issue of **Progressive** pointed out: "These corporations are, of course, heavy advertisers. It is noteworthy that our free press buried the story of their conviction deep in the inside pages, giving it an almost invisible fraction of the space they devoted to the exposure of a few sordid labor bosses. **Time,** for example, gave 60% more space to the report of the preliminary indictment of Jimmy Hoffa than it did in the same issue to the actual conviction of the huge corporations for engineering a fantastic plot to swindle American consumers and taxpayers out of billions of dollars."



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"It's all right, Mr. Godfrey—Miss Taylor was doing the figures when the ladder slipped!"

Meeting to abolish HUAC in N.Y. Feb. 24

THE EMERGENCY Civil Liberties Committee will hold a meeting to demand the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and other governmental "debris of McCarthyism" on Friday, Feb. 24, at 8 p.m., in Judson Hall, 165 W. 57th St., New York City. Carey McWilliams, editor of **The Nation,** will preside. Speakers include Frank Donner, general counsel of the United Electrical Workers, and Prof. Norman Redlich of New York University Law School.

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BOOKS

Mexico's angry novelist

THE YOUNG MEXICAN Carlos Fuentes' novel* is a brave effort to overcome the conviction of individual impotence which threatens to neutralize his country's intellectuals as it has so many talented artists in the United States. Like Ixca Cienfuegos, whose florid meditation opens the book, Fuentes is still capable of feeling outrage at what has been happening in his country and to its people following the defeat of the agrarian revolution.

In panoramic sequence Fuentes delineates the past and present of numbers of characters on the various levels of Mexican society. First there are the nationalist entrepreneurs whose wealth appears to them as a just reward for their having channeled the revolution into a capitalist course. Chief of these is the banker Federico Robles, once a peon and soldier under Obregon when that general and future President overcame Pancho Villa's insurgent peasants at the battle of Celaya in 1915.

Robles is too self-assured to be obsessed with the need to justify himself. Yet he is always alerted to defend his predatory ways whenever the motives of his class are questioned by certain intellectuals with whom he has an uneasy acquaintance.

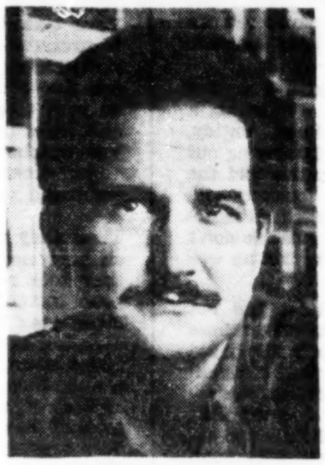
FUENTES describes skilfully how Robles deceives himself into believing that his non-productive stock and real estate manipulations have been a source of his country's prosperity. In actuality, he walks a narrow ridge atop the slope he has climbed to power and the cliff over which he is about to be pushed.

If Robles is a man-turned-tiger, he is flanked by the hyenas and jackals of the capital's smart set: members of the former Creole and French-invader aristocracy, playboy sons and girls of the nouveau riches, second-rate poets who end up as third-rate movie script writers, provincial shop-keepers' daughters determined to erase their past in gold, fun and games.

As in every large town, they form a kind of sub-class, the lumpen bourgeoisie. Fuentes portrays them as rootless and disloyal trash, devoid of a single trait that would distinguish them from their friends and relatives in New York, Paris, London or Rome. They are ready to devour any flesh, that of the hunter's victims and the hunter's, too.

It is fitting that Robles, who is ready to re-sell his country's oil resources for North American capital—for the nation's good, of course—should be married to a woman whose morality is wholly conditioned by this upper class cosmopolitan milieu. His Samson-like revenge upon her is the climax of the novel.

SOME OF MEXICO's leading intellectuals have probably recognized themselves in Fuentes' narrative. It is more to the point that he has presented their painful dilemma as they vacillate between modern European culture and their indigenous tradition and search alternately for realistic goals and mystical causes to inspire them. The interrelation of personal attitudes and political viewpoints in their conflicts is occasionally dramatized; more often, ideological differences are stated directly in long arguments, like those between Robles and the poet Manual Zamacona.



CARLOS FUENTES
The revolution that failed

Manuel's political insight enables him to tell Robles: "Sometimes I think that Mexico is living a prolonged **Directory, a** formula for stability which procures a notable internal calm but at the same time impedes the just development of exactly what the Revolution proposed in the beginning."

Yet when he imagines himself assuming responsibilities commensurate with his beliefs, he can only say: "I'm not brave enough to die for what I believe, and that's all. And if I don't have enough guts to do that, why go on jawing?" The author, as deus ex machina, condemns him to meaningless death in a coastal village, thereby putting an end to his insoluble quandary.

CONFRONTING these exploiters, parasites, and uncommitted men of conscience who do not know where to turn or will not turn when they guess, is the preponderant mass of city dwellers.

In a series of brief scattered vignettes, reminiscent at times of Dos Passos, Fuentes shows us clerks and salesmen engaged in a hopeless struggle to better their condition; laborers and taxi drivers who do not hope for anything but a few hours' pleasure; servants half-imprisoned in their masters' houses; wetbacks returned from collecting wages and humiliation north of the border; Indian peasants stranded in the alien life of the town; and finally the **pelados** or plucked ones, the unskilled workers, the beggars and the demoralized whose poverty is absolute. He sees how defenseless, how subject to sudden disaster and injustice are those who must depend on the merciless rich for livelihood.

Like his intellectuals, Fuentes thrashes left and right looking for some way out of this stratified misery. He dreams of some primitive force from the bowels of the earth, which will restore men to their bloody but pure origins, if not to their ancient gods.

THIS FANTASY is condensed in the symbolic figure of Cienfuegos (Hundred Fires—volcanoes?), half participant, half observer, who conceals his estrangement from the upper-class world to which he has unexplained access while retaining a myth-like relationship with Teodula Moctezuma, an old woman who might be a reincarnation of the serpent-skirted godmother Coatlicue.

Like most literary symbols, that of Cienfuegos represents an unresolved problem of the author's. The possibility of a second revolution to accomplish what the first did not must have occurred to Fuentes. One may speculate on why he shied away from the prospect. Perhaps the failure of the first weighed too heavily on him; perhaps he does not believe in the necessary and inevitable unity of the farmers and workers which is the precondition of victory in a renewed struggle.

Whatever the reason, his evocation of **Mexicanidad,** that is, the indigenous spirit of his land, as a substitute for a social revolution does not seem to convince even him.

The novel has certain technical faults that stem partly from this ideological impasse, and secondarily from the application of contemporary novelistic methods that clog up the action. There are too many Faulknerian soliloquies which represent, not the characters' train of thought, but the writer's way of seeing them, or which merely serve to impart information supercharged with prose poetry.

THE LEADING characters are somewhat too rigid in their natures, so that melodramatic debasement or misfortune is the only course open to them. On the other hand, their discussions are not sufficiently integrated with their personalities; one can examine each argument in the abstract, as one might at a debate between strangers. The swift switchings of scene, backward and forward in time, and the constant to-and-fro of characters of unequal importance make it impossible for any one scene to gather sufficient momentum before its resolution.

There are countless co-incidental meetings of apparently unrelated persons who are shown to be most fatefully connected. But since in most cases the characters either remain unaware of their ties, or each keeps his knowledge to himself, nothing comes of their expected confrontation. Their common destiny is treated metaphorically, as in Pasternak's **Doctor Zhivago,** but the effect is equally strained and static.

All these are a good writer's defects of excess, and one can take them in stride, provided the air is clear and we see more than we did when we began reading his book.

—**Charles Humboldt**

**WHERE THE AIR IS CLEAR*, by Carlos Fuentes. Ivan Obolensky. 376 pp. $4.95.*

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Lumumba's murder

(Continued from Page 1)

and policy which tolerates murder and brutality."

Moroccans were angry. Information Minister Ahmed Alaoui declared: "The people of Africa must fight for what Lumumba stood for—no compromise on independence."

Cuba declared three days of official mourning.

TSHOMBE'S ROADBLOCK: Few diplomats were surprised by the news. Their fear for the lives of Lumumba, Mpolo and Okito had increased since Katanga's President, the Belgian puppet Tshombe, had rejected requests by the UN's Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission to visit the imprisoned Premier. When Tshombe announced Lumumba's escape immediately after new demands by the UN Command and by Red Cross officials for permission to visit him, diplomats and officials close to the Western-sponsored Kasavubu government expressed the belief that Lumumba had been dead for days.

One Western diplomat likened the announcement of the escape to the "old wartime story of 'shot while trying to escape'." Conciliation Commission member Quaison-Sackey of Ghana also expressed the belief that the announcement of escape was a "cover-up story." He said it was extremely unlikely that Lumumba, badly beaten when Kasavubu sent him to Katanga, could escape from the well-guarded, Belgian-built Buluo penitentiary. Quaison-Sackey warned: "If Lumumba has been shot, there won't be peace in the Congo for 20 years."

KATANGA CHALLENGE: In a belligerent press communiqué on Feb. 13, Katanga's Interior Minister said Lumumba's death was the Congo's own affair. He reminded the U.S. that it had put to death "Sacco and Vanzetti, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Caryl Chessman" even though "the opinion of the world and high religious authorities asked for grace for the condemned." He added: "I forbid the UN the right to take positions in this matter."

Neutral observers had noted Lumumba's influence increasing even while he was in prison; and the Western press could no longer ignore his popularity among the Congolese. The "legal government" set up by his lieutenant, Antoine Gizenga, in Oriental province was expanding even into Katanga and Kasai in Lumumba's absence because the Premier's call for unity of all tribes appealed to his countrymen.

HE WAS THE LEADER: On Jan. 15 the **Times** said foreign observers described Lumumba as "the only Congolese leader with a truly national following"; on Feb. 5 it attributed the "popularity" of Gizenga's forces to the "claim that only Lumumba will keep out the Belgians." **Newsweek** reported Feb. 13 "the startling truth" that "Lumumba, the prisoner, is rapidly triumphing over [U.S.-sponsored strongman] Col. Mobutu, his captor." It said that those who "last fall strained every effort to vest Kasavubu with the mantle of UN recognition now feel their efforts were wasted."

On Feb. 14, after the news of his murder, the **Times** conceded that Lumumba had been "the most popular single Congolese politician and a more truly national figure than his rivals, whose support consisted chiefly of tribal and regional supporters." The **Times** also agreed that "Lumumba had been successful in establishing a Congolese National Movement [Lumumba's political party] of a country-wide character that appealed to Africans of diverse tribal background." This, however, was in the **Times'** news section; the editorial in the same issue indulged in character assassination of the murdered leader, and accepted the Katanga version of his death.

THE BIG STAKES: Before the murder, there had been indications that Belgium and its Western allies, and their Congolese proteges, were taking desperate steps to maintain their control and protect their vast economic interests.

By virtue of the massive "aid" it had given Tshombe, Belgium had completely taken over mineral-rich **Katanga.** Besides the regular Belgian force there, AP reported Feb. 5 that other Belgian, American, British, French, West German, Polish, Israeli, white Rhodesian and white South African mercenaries were being lured "by high pay" into a Katanga Foreign Legion. Among the French was Col. Trinquier, retiring paratroop veteran from Algeria, who was helping organize the Katanga army.

These mercenaries were known as "Les Affreux" (The Frightfuls). Watching a batch of these "undisciplined, untidy, rowdy and ruthless" men clambering out of a plane, a UN representative told the AP: "They get bigger, tougher—and uglier—every day." A French "Frightful" complained to the AP: "People don't like us. We get good pay for killing women and children."

THE TAKE-OVER: The West had not been neglecting Kasavubu. The **Times** reported Feb. 5 that Belgian military aid is pouring into Leopoldville, "Belgian officers, technicians and advisers are returning in large numbers" and the U.S., France, West Germany and Italy are assisting Kasavubu "not always through the UN."

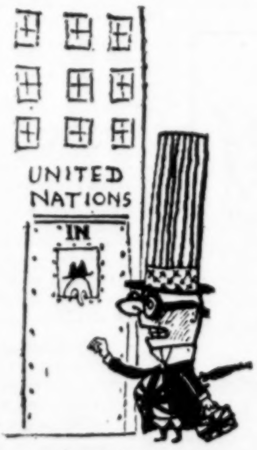
Belgium had not done badly at all, thanks to its foresight in promoting Tshombe. According to Arthur Paret of the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, only four or five working days had been lost by the mining company since last June 30, the Congo's Independence Day. This was a measure of the speed with which Belgium had taken over again. Union Miniere's output for the second half of 1960 indicated that the company would pay considerable dividend on its shares.

None of this dividend, however, will go to the Congolese government, which is entitled to at least $12,000,000. Before independence, the Belgian Congo government held a substantial interest in the companies operating in Katanga; it owned, for instance, two-thirds of the shares of the Comité Special du Katanga.

The Comité was responsible for granting mineral concessions in Katanga and held about 20% of the shares of Union Miniere. The Belgian government never fulfilled its pledge to transfer all these assets to the independent Congolese government. Last year, the $50,000,000 Union Miniere owed to the Congo in taxes went to Brussels instead.

THE SOURCE: Even before the news of the murder, most observers had come to believe that the Congo's troubles stemmed from Belgium's intrigue and intervention, aided and abetted by its NATO allies. Prof. Cameron Nish of Montreal's Sir George University had summed up the situation thus:

"Before [accepting] the belief of the innate difficulties of uniting the Congo, we may ask ourselves why it is that the Belgians had little trouble . . . exploiting a united Congo while the natives now face [an allegedly] insoluble problem. By answering this question we come to the core of the internal crisis. Belgium deliberately fostered secessionist movements. In this they were aided and abetted by many Western powers and the UN. . . .



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"I'm the other delegation from Africa."

"Provincialism in the Congo is represented by Quisling Africans such as Kasavubu and his bullyboy Mobutu, Kalonji and Tshombe. Their search for political power had led them to collaborate in the most detestable aspect of a colonial rule, that is, the exploitation of their own peoples, assisted by Belgium, France and the U.S. The only leader of note who favors a truly national government, and who has support that cuts across tribal and provincial divisions, is Patrice Lumumba. [His] evident popularity amongst the people has brought him many rewards, imprisonment, character assassination and savage beatings . . .

"By accident or design Hammarskjold opted to depart from previous policy, that is, to support the established government . . . His policies merely gave an impetus to secessionist movements and added an irritant to an already difficult situation."

ENTER THE U.S.: Prof. E. McCulloch of the same university, while attributing Belgium's actions in the Congo to its desire to protect its stake in the colony, nevertheless held that "Belgium"'s gamble of being able to give the Congo its 'independence' and still retain control of its wealth will fail." He said:

"Even if the Congo should not gain its independence, it is clear that control will be reimposed not in the name of Belgium but of the 'western world', i.e., the U.S. This was the evident purpose of the 'UN' intervention in the Congo. Belgium cannot, therefore, hope to return to the Congo in her former dominant position. The U.S., which has ranked second in the Congo trade for several years, will take her place."

AN AFRICAN NATO: The assassination of Lumumba, Mpolo and Okito will have profound repercussions everywhere, especially in Africa and the UN. This tragedy has already justified the first tentative steps toward the formation of an African NATO taken recently at Casablanca by Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Mali and Morocco, to back up their "determination to liberate the African territories still under foreign domination" and to "liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms."

It will make Afro-Asians wary of such steps as dispatching a UN Command to disturbed countries, since the UN Command in the Congo failed to save the life of the very Premier who had invited them.

HAMMARSKJOLD'S ROLE: It will sharply reduce the prestige of Hammarskjold because he failed to recommend—and even stalled—effective UN action against Belgian aggression. Nor did he condemn the arrest of Lumumba although his own representative in the Congo had called the arrest "arbitrary." He did not take the initiative nor did he support the Soviet initiative calling for a closed Security Council session to discuss the fate of Lumumba and his colleagues when Katanga first gave out the news of their escape.

THE FUTURE: The events are likely to create a much stronger demand for dividing the UN Secretary General's functions among the three power blocs—as Moscow has asked—or the appointment of three assistants to the Secretary General representing the three blocs whose unanimity would be required for any action.

At GUARDIAN press time, it remained to be seen what steps the Security Council would take when it reconvened Feb. 15. Much would depend on Washington's stand. Fast footwork was to be the hallmark of the Kennedy Administration, especially on such problems as the Congo crisis. But Clare Timberlake, U.S. Ambassador to the Congo, has been conferring for days in Washington and Adlai Stevenson, U.S. chief delegate to the UN, has broken no speed record in presenting any constructive solution.

Dawn in the heart of Africa

By Patrice Lumumba

For a thousand years you, Negro, suffered like a beast,
your ashes strewn to the wind that roams the desert.
Your tyrants built the lustrous, magic temples
to preserve your soul, preserve your suffering.
Barbaric right of fist and the white right to a whip,
you had the right to die, you also could weep.
In your totem they carved endless hunger, endless bonds,
and even in the cover of the woods a ghastly cruel death
was watching, snaky, crawling to you like branches from the holes and heads
of trees
embraced your body and your ailing soul.

Then they put a treacherous big viper on your chest:
on your neck they laid the yoke of fire-water,
they took your sweet wife for glitter of cheap pearls,
your incredible riches that nobody could measure.
From your hut, the tom-toms sounded into dark of night
carrying cruel laments up mighty black rivers
about abused girls, streams of tears and blood,
about ships that sailed to country where the little man
wallows in an ant-hill and where a dollar is king,
to that damned land which they called a motherland.
There your child, your wife were ground, day and night
by frightful, merciless mill, crushing them in dreadful pain.
You are man like others. They preach you to believe
that good white god will reconcile all men at last.
By fire you grieved and sang the moaning songs
of homeless beggar that sinks at stranger's doors.

And when a craze possessed you and your blood boiled through the night
you danced, you moaned, obsessed by father's passion.
Like fury of a storm to lyrics of a manly tune
a strength burst out of you for a thousand years of misery
in metallic voice of jazz, in uncovered outcry
that thunders through the continent in gigantic surf.
The whole world surprised woke up in panic
to the violent rhythm of blood, to violent rhythm of jazz,
the white man turning pallid over this new song
that carries torch of purple through the dark of night.

The dawn is here, my brother, dawn! Look in our faces,
a new morning breaks in our old Africa.
Ours only will now be the land, the water, mighty rivers
poor Negro was surrendering for a thousand years.
And hard torches of the sun will shine for us again
they'll dry the tears in eyes and spittle on your face.
The moment when you break the chains, the heavy fetters,
the evil, cruel times will go never to come again.
A free and gallant Congo will arise from black soil,
a free and gallant Congo—the black blossom, the black seed!

(As printed in Blitz, *Bombay)*

CALENDAR

BOSTON

WELCOME HOME RECEPTION for **ELIZABETH G. FLYNN, SUN. AFTERNOON, Feb. 26; 2:30 p.m. at TOWN & COUNTRY CLUB,** Morton & Wellington Hill Sts., Dorchester.
After 8-month tour of USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania & E. Germany, Elizabeth G. Flynn will tell of her impressions & experiences in these Socialist countries. Entertainment program and light refreshments.
Aus.: E. G. Flynn Reception Committee.

DETROIT, MICH.

THE CASE FOR CUBA
Hear **ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,** noted Negro leader, and **HARRY PHILO,** Detroit attorney, with **EYEWITNESS REPORTS** this **SAT., FEB. 18,** 8 p.m. Greater King Solomon Baptist Church, Forest at 4th. Adm. Free. Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

LOS ANGELES

TWO SEMINAR SESSIONS
1—Cuba and the Theory of the Permanent Revolution; Instructor: **Theodore Edwards,** socialist writer and radio commentator. Time: 11 a.m.-12:30.
2—Rise and Decline of the American Communist Party; Instructor: **Arne Swabeck,** a founder of the Communist Party; and **Max Geldman,** socialist lecturer and organizer. Time: 12-30-2 p.m.
Date: Every Sunday through March 5
1702 East 4th St., Los Angeles
AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238
AUSP: **International School of Socialism**
Cont: 35c per individual session

NEW YORK

NEW HORIZONS IN AFRICA: Hear **ANGIE DICKERSON** report on her recent visit to ACCRA where she met many of the leaders of the new African nations.
Date: **SUN., FEB. 19,** at 7:30 p.m.
Place: **Parkway Plaza,** 1110 Eastern Pkway, Brooklyn.
Ausp: Crown Heights Forum.—Adm. 50c.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY speaks on **"Kennedy's 'New Frontier'—Problem or Promise?"**
FRI., Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. Sharp.
2018 86th St., Brooklyn. Sponsored by Bensonhurst Forum. — Cont. 49c.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK
TUES., FEB. 21, at 8 p.m.
ALLERTON COMMUNITY CENTER, 683 Allerton Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Speaker: **HERBERT APTHEKER,** noted historian and a leading spokesman for Negro rights. Musical program; refreshments. Donation 50c. Ausp: Bx Com. for Civil Liberties & Civil Rights.

WED., THURS., FRI., FEB. 15, 16, 17
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N.A.A.C.P.—Hunter College Chapter presents an African Dance Festival
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SUN., FEB. 26 — 4 P.M.
Hunter Coll. Audit., 69th & Park Ave.
BENEFIT: Evicted Families Fayette Co.
TICKETS: Folk Lore Center, 110 MacDougal; MAIL ORDER: Box 117, Jerome Sta., Bronx 68.

FAR EAST REPORTER presents 1960 film of **PRIME MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI INTERVIEW** in Peking with Felix Greene, Brit. corres. Also, colored slides taken in '59 & '60 by Maud Russell and friends. **SUN., FEB. 26, 7:30 P.M. Adelphi Hall,** 74 5 Ave. (14th St.) **Adm. $1.25.**

PHILADELPHIA

Celebrate 37th anniversary, **"The Worker"** at **JOHN BARTHRAM HOTEL,** Crystal Room, Broad & Locust Sts., **FRIDAY, MARCH 10,** 8:15 p.m. Speaker: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, recently returned from months of travel in socialist countries.
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Aus.: Philadelphia Worker Committee

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LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.
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THE WRITERS WORKSHOP of New York Intercultural Council is accepting new members who are Realist in concept, and possessive of intercultural awareness. Interested writers are encouraged to write for detail to:
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Guardian editor ends his tour in Detroit

GUARDIAN Editor James Aronson rounded out his cross-country speaking tour with a meeting at the Jewish Music Center in Detroit on Tuesday evening, Feb. 7. About 120 persons heard Aronson talk about the U.S. press and responded generously to mark the GUARDIAN's 12th anniversary.

Carl Haessler, founder of the Federated Press and the "dean" of Detroit's progressive community, was chairman. Barbara Robb & Co. entertained with folk songs.

NEWARK

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THE GALLERY

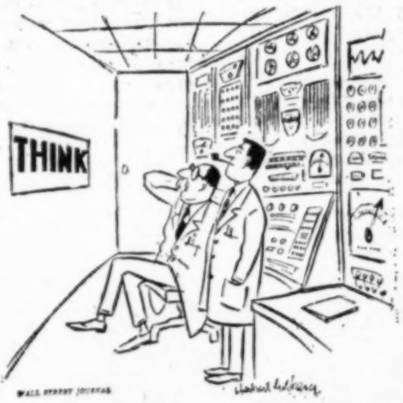
PAUL KING, AN ENTERPRISING REPORTER for the Vancouver **Sun,** became curious when he learned that House Un-American Activities Committee chairman Francis Walter had read in Congress a speech by actress Barbara Stanwyck. It was allegedly ad lib remarks Miss Stanwyck made while filming a cloak-and-dagger drama for TV. She is supposed to have been carried away and departed from the script. King dug out a transcript. This is how it went.

Miss Stanwyck played Josephine, an American adventuress caught up in "communist intrigue." In her ad lib speech to a "communist agent" she said: "Your own country. How can you sell it out like this? All those people . . . Ah, you're going to be one of those five million survivors, aren't you? . . . Big new warlord. Well, I've got news for you, Buddy. It's not going to happen, because America, England and all the rest of us, we're going to stop you. Now what have you got to say?"

Communist Agent: "Flag-waving, Josephine, is out of date."

Miss Stanwyck: "Oh it is, is it? Well, loving your country is never out of date. How can you not love your country? The place where you come from . . . where you've got neighbors, and friends, and . . . well . . . popcorn and baseball teams. You're going to wipe all that out? Well, you let me tell you something. You'll never wipe out the Dodgers, whoever they're playing for . . . Brooklyn, Los Angeles, or Peoria, Illinois. Now you and your pals in Peking, you keep your cotton-picking, Red hands off my country."

THOSE WHO BELIEVE that medical care for the aged through Social Security is a step toward socialism might flip if someone proposed here what is now a bill before the National Assembly in the United Arab Republic. It provides that all working men, married and single, pay 1% of their salaries to a "divorce insurance bank." Discarded wives and children would draw from $11 to $33 a month from the fund. In addition, fathers would be required to support their children . . . Christopher Bacon, a 24-year-old Englishman, has spent a lot of time studying but he still can't understand the world. Last year he came to the U. of California as an exchange student to study "the American way of life." During the demonstrations against the Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco last May, Bacon joined the protesting students and was arrested. After his release he was shadowed constantly by Immigration Dept. plainclothesmen. Once when he wanted to go to San Francisco from Berkeley, he hitched a ride with them. But when his visitor's permit expired, the Immigration Dept. refused to extend it. Bacon went to Thailand to continue his studies. But Thai officials threw him out "because you were involved in the United States with a Communist group, the Un-American Activities Committee." Bacon is back in England—studying Shakespeare, no doubt . . . A committee of the Lutheran Churchmen Executive Council in Chicago passed a resolution to extend church-sponsored Boy Scout programs to "any planet in outer space that may be discovered in the forthcoming interplanetary era."



Goldberg, Wall Street Journal
"I suppose you would say it's sort of anachronistic."

FRANCE IS BUILDING a Jekyll and Hyde prison in Muret. Outside, the prison will look like all others: high grey walls, on top of which armed guards will patrol day and night. Inside, the prison will be divided into sectors. The side for the Hydes—those who break rules—will be drab and confined. The side for the Jekylls—those on good behavior—will have cells that look like studios, each equipped with running hot and cold water and central heating. There will be plenty of shower rooms, a large library, a swimming pool, television rooms and a movie theater . . . Dr. Glen J. Sperandio, associate professor of pharmacy at Purdue U, apparently believes women can have their pancake makeup and eat it too. He reported that he had composed a highly successful complexion lotion "made basically from peaches and cream," an anti-chapping lotion "prepared mainly from tapioca" and liquid makeup "composed mainly of chocolate syrup and mashed potatoes." Tests showed that these products were as good or better than cosmetics now on the market . . . According to Reuters News Agency in London, a woman walked into a Moscow police station and said: "Jail me for two years, please. I am a swindler. And my victims won't leave me alone." Zinaida Mazurova told police she had made 300,000 rubles by promising to deliver new cars without having to join a five-year waiting list. She fleeced 30 people. As lawbreakers themselves, her victims couldn't go to police, but they hounded her. She said they phoned her day and night, chased her on the street. In desperation she surrendered to the cops . . . A group of young people, including Patrick and Michael Hallinan of the Vincent and Vivian Hallinans, picketed the San Francisco **Examiner** last month in protest against the newspaper's coverage of events in Cuba. The demonstrators also distributed petitions urging President Kennedy to resume diplomatic relations with Cuba.

—**Robert E. Light**

Quit fiddling

JEFFERSON, WIS.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned. How long are we going to fiddle in separate groups while religious military fascism moves in?

Percy Steuber

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"What this album says is that Freedom Day is coming in many places and those working for it mean to make it stick," writes jazz critic Nat Hentoff.

Artists are Max Roach, Coleman Hawkins, Abbey Lincoln, Olatunji and others. The suite was composed by Max Roach, with words by Oscar Brown Jr. A 12" LP produced by Candid Records. **GBS PRICE $4.95**
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A documentary record of Nikita S. Khrushchev's trip to the United Nation's General Assembly meeting, Sept. 19 to October 13, including all his UN speeches, proposals, major addresses and news conferences.

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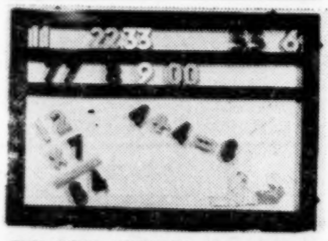

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the SPECTATOR

A misfit movie?

SAN FRANCISCO

IF (AS HE WAS QUOTED) Arthur Miller had "had it" so far as Hollywood was concerned when he finished work on **The Misfits,** the critical reception the John Huston production of Miller's first motion picture story has received has no doubt confirmed his reported decision never to write another.

From **Time** and **Newsweek,** through the New York **Times'** Bosley Crowther and the local Scripps-Howardites and Hearstlings, there has been a concentrated attack on the United Artists release starring Miller's former wife, Marilyn Monroe, the late Clark Gable, Eli Wallach, Montgomery Clift and Thelma Ritter.

Now, it would be entirely possible for Miller to have written a bad screenplay, for Huston to have directed badly and for Monroe, Gable, Wallach, Clift and Ritter to stink on ice, but it is not likely; at least, the odds are against it happening at the same time and in the same production.

But the attack is so blatant and so concentrated, and had been preceded (and has been followed) by such persistent sniping from the sidelines by such minor league idiots as Hedda Hopper, that anyone who is aware of how these things operate is forced to look at it with a jaundiced eye.

TYPICAL IS HOPPER'S mendacious crowing (Feb. 3): "Two national magazines agreed with my summation of **Misfits,** despite such stars as Clark Gable and Marilyn Monroe. They tried to protect Arthur Miller, but had to admit it's a picture without a heart. It's filled with sadism and cruelty."

That is precisely the opposite of what **The Misfits** is "filled with," but the fact of the matter is that Hollywood hates and fears Monroe and patent reactionaries like Hopper have hated Miller ever since he was pilloried by the Un-Americans and managed, on appeal, to beat the rap.

Even more so, they understand only too well what **The Misfits** is all about and what it has to say, and they do not like what it says at all.

For this is a picture filled with love and compassion for people and with hatred and contempt for a society which grinds them up into dogmeat like the "misfit" wild mustangs Gable, Clift and Wallach are hunting in the film, and for precisely that purpose.

The picture is at once an action drama, a psychological study of people displaced in their own time and country and a symbolical evaluation of the society in which we live.

ON A REALISTIC LEVEL, it examines the misfit people of the story—the former nightclub dancer (Monroe), the former bomber pilot (Wallach), the rodeo rider (Clift) and the over-aged cowboy (Gable)—and it examines them in depth. And their impact on each other is such as it would be in life.

The three men desire the newly-divorced woman, Roslyn (MM), and she "shacks up" with one of them (Gable, the cowboy). He has been a predatory male but he learns from her the meaning of affection, consideration, and love of life. And she had been attracted to him for those qualities she thought he possessed: tenderness, understanding, kindness.

The audience learns, through precept and example, what has happened to these people: how Gable, the cowboy, has outlived his time and, avoiding "wages," insists on living an independent life on a frontier that no longer exists. There was a point in rounding up the mustangs when they were used for riding the range and pulling the frontier plows. Now they are dogmeat.

Roslyn started dancing because she loved to dance but found that the nightclub audiences didn't give a damn whether she could dance so long as she showed off her body for so many bucks a night.

Guido (Wallach) spent four years in the Army Air Force as a bomber pilot and returned to the U.S. with all the skills of a killer and no preparation for anything else. He became a garage mechanic and he lost his young wife and is rootless.

AT THE CLIMAX of the film, after Roslyn has rebelled against the roundup of the mustangs and induced the rodeo-rider (Clift) to cut them loose; and after Gable has fought single-handedly with a stallion and subdued it, only to cut it loose himself, he expresses Miller's point in these words:

"God damn them all! They changed it. Changed it all around. They smeared it all over with blood . . ."

These are the words you hear from the screen. In the printed version of the script (Viking Press), the speech reads: "They smeared it all over with blood, turned it into shit and money just like everything else."

The circumstances surrounding the making of **The Misfits** involved pathos and irony, with the breakup of the Miller-Monroe marriage and the death of Gable. But it is doubtful that Miller's subjective reaction to these events is entirely responsible for his expressed determination to stick to the stage, for he has also said that film is a director's medium, not a writer's, and he has a major point.

If he never writes another film we will be the losers, for in his first he has achieved a work of art and his former wife has demonstrated her genuine gift for dramatic acting as well as brilliant comedy.

—Alvah Bessie